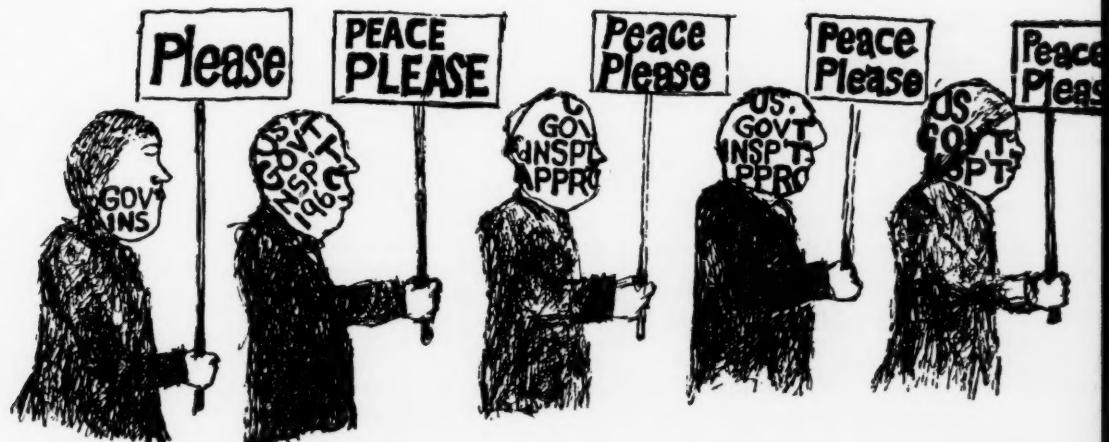


LIBERATION

NOVEMBER 1960

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THE DREAM OF SENATOR DODD

THE CRISIS IN SANE: ACT II

A. J. MUSTE

COLD WAR IN THE CONGO
THE VIEW NORTH FROM CUBA
THE RELEVANCE OF ANGER
"THE STRENGTH OF SIN IS THE LAW"

ANN MORRISSETT
DOUGLAS GORSLINE
PAUL DU BRUL
ALEXANDER BURDETT

LIBERATION AN INDEPENDENT MONTHLY

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CONTENTS

Vol. V, No. 9

Editorials	3
The Crisis in SANE: Act II	5
On Being Hit-Run by an Existentialist (poem)	8
Cold War in the Congo	9
The View North from Cuba	13
After a Visit to Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry (poem)	14
The Relevance of Anger	15
"The Strength of Sin Is the Law"	17
Letters	19
<i>A. J. Muste</i>	
<i>Sam Bradley</i>	
<i>Ann Morrisett</i>	
<i>Douglas Gorsline</i>	
<i>Richard Mayes</i>	
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In This Issue:

A. J. MUSTE has been active in peace organizations for over forty years.

PAUL DU BRUL served for six months as director of the National Student Association's Southern Scholarship Defense Fund. In this capacity, he travelled to a number of campuses, working with students in sit-in activities. He now studies at Hunter College, in New York, and is associated with *New America*, the Socialist bi-weekly.

ANN MORRISSETT's article in this issue is a sequel to her "Conversations

with a Congolese Congressman," which appeared in September.

DOUGLAS GORSLINE, who has made two visits to Cuba in the past year, is an illustrator whose work has appeared in many publications.

ALEXANDER BURDETTE has participated in picketings at Sing Sing Prison to protest scheduled executions.

The cover is by VERA B. WILLIAMS.

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editorials

KHRUSHCHEV, AFRICA AND THE U. N.

Anything like an adequate analysis of the issues which have been highlighted by Mr. K.'s fabulous and often grim antics during the opening weeks of the United Nations General Assembly would require many pages. However, a couple of the principal clues as to the meaning of this eruption and the problems which it suggests can be stated briefly.

The United Nations operates under a régime in which nations are *not* united. In addition to the factor of the deep cleavage between the East-West power blocs, cultures and politico-economic systems, there is rampant nationalism among the former colonial peoples. Nationalism is also far from dead or even somnolent in older countries, as the cases of de Gaulle's France and Adenauer's Germany may serve to remind us.

The United Nations was established in the expectation, at least on the part of a considerable number of its architects, that it might serve as a transition from the present divisions to some form of ordered world inspired by faith in internationalism. The need for an agency for such a transition peacefully achieved has been greatly intensified by the emergence of nuclear-war technology.

In this setting, the United Nations at decisive points does not and cannot dominate the national power struggles and certainly not the conflict between the two super-powers. It is dominated by them. The history of the institution has shown that when the broad power relationships are relatively stable and especially when Russia and the United States are agreed on a proposed course, the U. N. functions. When the two big powers are not agreed and when there is a geographical shift, so to speak, in the power relationships, hell threatens to break loose. The so-called United Nations war in Korea, e. g., was technically possible only because the Soviet representative had walked out of the Security Council. In terms of "realpolitik" it was not a United Nations war at all but an episode, kept within limits by tacit mutual agreement, in the East-West contest.

With the continued rapid development of the Soviet Union; the impending industrialization of China; the stepped-up pace of national revo-

lutions in Africa; the shakiness of NATO with the growth of unilateralism in Great Britain and the very different "independent" course de Gaulle is trying to map out in France; the eruption in Cuba; the confused, almost paralyzed, state of American foreign policy—to mention only a partial list—a shift of pretty big proportions is taking place in the world of power.

The shift is to the advantage of the Communist bloc, in part simply because the old colonial powers are losing ground and the Western monopoly of certain strategic markets and sources of raw materials is constantly being shaken. Inevitably in a power world Mr. K. now wants to keep things stirred up and is seeking to capitalize on every opportunity to extend the Soviet power sphere and to infiltrate former Western preserves.

Mr. Hammarskjold, who has in our estimation a very brilliant intellect and who has in respect to such matters as feeding the population and preventing disease done a remarkable job in the Congo, cannot be "impartial" in such a situation—not basically because of any special defect in himself but because of the nature of the situation. There is no objective standard and no above-the-battle political institution to decide which bloc arming with weapons to exterminate its enemy, itself and quite possibly mankind, is "right" in the Congo, to decide between philosophies, religions, cultures and economic orders. And all such elements enter into the picture when the struggle ceases to be peripheral and about minor stakes.

In a certain sense, a man who was equally opposed to the insane and morally monstrous nuclear-war policies of both sides and who did not accept the mystique of nationalism in the atomic age, would be "impartial" and objective. But then neither the United States nor the Soviet Union would "have confidence" in such a man. Under the existing circumstances the very fact that the United States has "confidence" in the U. N. Secretary-General is a reason why the Soviet leaders should distrust him. Before becoming moralistic about this, people who are interested in thinking clearly should reflect how deeply Americans would distrust a Secretary-General about whom Mr. K.

was enthusiastic and how strong would be the movement, in such an eventuality, for the United States to pull out of the United Nations or at least to move its headquarters out of New York.

Secondly, a word about the Congo. In general, developments there must be looked at in the perspective of what we have already set forth. And clearly in geopolitical terms Africa is a bastion which neither power bloc wishes to see firmly held by the other. By the same token, African nations have an immense incentive to try to avoid being drawn into the orbit of either.

Under the circumstances, both big powers may wish to avoid establishing overt political, not to mention military, control. But there is a very great economic stake in Africa's strategic raw materials and other resources. It is certain that finagling in this field by Belgians and other Westerners, as well as Communists, is a big factor in the continued turmoil in the Congo. We venture to suggest that perhaps only by some arrangement under which African peoples jointly own and control these resources for peaceful purposes, can an eventual bloody conflict over them involving the big nuclear powers be avoided.

Apart from all such factors related to the East-West conflict, which now impinges heavily on any conflict within a nation everywhere in the world, we may note that a civil war, such as the one in the Congo, would in any case present a very complicated and probably an insoluble problem for the United Nations Secretary-General. What "objective" standard is there to determine which of several claimants to legitimacy or power is to be backed? If, as is likely when a considerable number of U. N. troops is stationed in a country, these troops indirectly throw their weight on one side, does not the U. N. then become militarily involved in a civil war? The whole knotty problem of whether the U. N. is to have a "police force" or an "army" emerges. These reflections remind us that most commentators over here have given too little consideration to the fact that apparently Lumumba, alone among Congolese leaders, has consistently combated tribalism. Concern that mechanistic centralization shall not be imposed

on the Congo should not blind us to the fact that a régime based on tribalism cannot provide democracy for Africans today, and that it is concern over this issue of tribalism and not subservience to the Soviet Union which leads such African leaders as Nkrumah to support Lumumba.

It has rightly been observed that our analysis undercuts the idea Mr. Hammarskjold advanced: that the U. N. is the agency on which smaller nations and the underdeveloped ones can rely to protect them against the big powers and isolate them from the big-power battle. The nations that want to remain uncommitted and uninvolved in that ghastly global struggle can achieve their end only if they constitute themselves as an essentially nonviolent third force. They have imperative reasons for doing so.

If a large-scale nuclear war does break out, because there is no factor outside them to subject the nuclear power blocs to some restraint, the casualties will not be confined to the peoples of the belligerent nations. Millions in other lands, perhaps mankind, will perish. When Americans, therefore, talk about "better no world than a Communist one," they should reflect that this means the United States is to decide for a lot of people entirely outside the belligerent countries that they shall be exterminated rather than come, temporarily perhaps, under some form of Communism. One of the reasons why the United States is feared and even hated in many lands today is that the people of those lands believe a United States government might some day be quite capable of making this decision for them. This might be called annihilation without representation.

A. J. M.

LINGUA COSMICA

One of the great mathematicians of Europe has developed a language for cosmic intercourse, a *lingua cosmica*, or *Lincos* for short. By the use of this formalized system, based on the discoveries of modern logic, mankind may be able to participate in the great conversation between the solar systems and the galaxies which may even now be going on. Astronomers estimate that there are millions of planets suitable for life in our galaxy alone. It is highly likely (strange and fantastic as it may seem!) that intelligent beings are already conversing with each other through the interstellar spaces.

4

In the light of our coming entrance into the cosmic conversation, the elementary failures of communication between East and West, and particularly at the United Nations, seem the more petty and the more tragic. We have no true communication on this earth. Music is said to be such a universal language; and, for those who understand it, mathematics is. But in the areas of religion and politics communication fails. The current Presidential campaign demonstrated that Protestants and Catholics still do not understand each other. And there is a breakdown of meaningful communication between Communists and anti-Communists.

After Mr. Khrushchev was interviewed on television last month, the interviewer, David Susskind, remarked: "We are not separated only by language. We are separated by something else that I cannot even articulate." And a commentator observed: "It was an exercise in futility. There was no meeting of minds." This has been the story of Communist-non-Communist attempts at communication for years. Almost all the

key words have different meanings in the two halves of the world. There is even doubt whether the common necessity for survival itself will be strong enough to overcome this schizophrenia.

What can happen is that we can outgrow it. When it is evident that there will be no ultimate surrender on either side, new forces will come to our rescue. These new forces are already stirring, principally in the uncommitted parts of the world, but also within the two big powers. When East and West have sunk into a final rigid and sterile deadlock, those who are still capable of developing something new will emerge. Even now this promise of a genuine humanist and personalist movement to transform both halves of the world is more important than the failure of the Communist and Western worlds to understand each other.

Those who enter the great future conversation in the *lingua cosmica* should belong to no partisan half-world. They must speak only for the truly united humanity which is to come.

R. F.

NAVY BALKS PACIFISTS

GROTON, CONN., Oct. 16 (UPI)—A group of pacifists who had planned to board the Polaris-firing submarine George Washington today found no boat to board.

The pacifists, members of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, had been scheduled to put eight persons aboard the world's first Polaris missile-firing submarine. The boat was being made ready for deployment at the docks of her builder, the Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics Corporation.

But early today, unknown to the pacifists, the Navy took the Washington out to sea to prevent the boarding. Officials would not say where the submarine had been taken.

A spokesman for the pacifists said, however, that the group would be ready to board the submarine "whenever it comes back."

—New York Times

. . . AND ON THE WATERFRONT

On October 20, three Polaris Actionists succeeded in protest boardings of Polaris missile subs George Washington and Patrick Henry, at the Electric Boat docks.

If you wish to read about the skirmishes with the Navy, General Dynamics officials and F. B. I. agents in more detail, please write for the Committee for Nonviolent Action Bulletins describing them. The address is: CNVA, 158 Grand Street, Room 10, New York 13, N. Y.

Liberation

XUM

THE CRISIS IN SANE: ACT II

A. J. MUSTE

IN THE July-August issue of *LIBERATION* we commented on the crisis which had developed in SANE as a result of charges by Senator Thomas Dodd, acting temporarily as chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in place of Senator James Eastland. Dodd alleged that the organization was being infiltrated by the Communist Party and pro-Soviet elements. The sequel revolves around the relations between the Senator and two of the country's leading liberals, Norman Cousins, co-chairman of the peace organization, and Norman Thomas, leading national board member.

It will be recalled that Dodd threatened an exposure of the situation on the eve of a great SANE rally in Madison Square Garden in New York on May 19th. Such highly respectable figures as Alf M. Landon, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Walter Reuther were to speak at that meeting in support of continued cessation of nuclear testing and of disarmament negotiations, objectives which were presumably major elements in official United States foreign policy. Senator Dodd, however, is a vigorous advocate of resumption of testing, of a bigger military budget and a tough policy *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union. He had subpoenaed one Henry Abrams, who had been the key figure in a magnificent job of promotion of the Madison Square Garden meeting, though he had no say about program, speakers and policy. Abrams took the Fifth Amendment in answer to all questions about his political views and affiliations. Thus Dodd had a made-to-order case for blasting SANE as Communist-infiltrated, embarrassing and perhaps frightening off the speakers we have mentioned from appearing at the Garden rally, and thus perhaps ruining that affair. The Senator was aiming to kill two fat pigeons with one shot, *viz.* to show Nixon and the public on the eve of the Presidential election campaign that no one was going to outdo the Democrats in hunting out Communist heretics and stooges; and to strike a blow against a conservative peace organization which was gaining a considerable number of adherents. If political blackmail is not the name for this, then we have fresh evidence that we live in the era of double-speak.

As we pointed out in the July-August issue, Norman Cousins was deeply disturbed when he learned of Dodd's action and plans, both because he feared that there were in fact a considerable number of Communists in SANE, though they had no say whatever in national program and policy-making, and because Dodd's exposure of "Communist infiltration," especially at this critical moment, would hurt SANE badly by frightening off its respectable and timorous supporters. He went down to see Senator Dodd in Washington. Dodd did not publicly bring up the Henry Abrams matter until May 25th, six

days after the Garden rally. In a speech in the United States Senate on that date, he said:

I wish to pay my personal tribute to Mr. Norman Cousins, the chairman of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, for the manner in which he has reacted to the revelations of the Subcommittee . . . When he saw me in Washington he asked for the Subcommittee's assistance in ridding SANE of whatever Communist infiltration does exist. He offered to open the books of the organization to the Subcommittee and to cooperate with it in every way.

On May 27th, at a SANE national board meeting, Clarence Pickett, co-chairman, Robert Gilmore, chairman of the national administrative committee (who has since resigned), and Stewart Meacham, board member—all associated with the American Friends Service Committee—proposed a policy statement which said in part: "SANE has not and will not trim its sails to suit opponents of a sane nuclear policy whether they be members of congressional committees, private citizens, or anonymous accusers. . . . SANE has not [been] and will not be controlled by the Communist Party nor by any other outside interest or organization." This was turned down by a majority of the board. Later a statement was adopted which, on the one hand, expressed resentment at the intervention of the Senate Subcommittee in SANE's affairs and on the other hand, indicated that Communists were not welcome in SANE and made provision for questioning by local and national leaders of persons accused of Communist associations and for removing them if satisfactory answers were not forthcoming.

The political import of these matters and the reasons for condemning the reaction to the Dodd "blackmail" were set forth in some detail in our previous article. Some of us who at the time were outraged got the impression, however, that the Dodd Subcommittee would at least be kept at a distance by the SANE national board and that whatever "screening" of suspects might be deemed necessary would be carried on quite independently of the Subcommittee and hopefully free of the spirit and methods of witch-hunting.

We never placed any stock in the notion that a passive or "cooperative" reaction to Senator Dodd's initial move would cause him to slacken in what he undoubtedly regards as his sacred duty to engage in political inquisition in order to meet the threat of Communist infiltration. It was no surprise, therefore, to learn that the Senator once more hauled Linus Pauling to Washington and that in the late summer he had subpoenaed some thirty-eight additional Communist suspects in SANE and summoned them to Washington. But we were amazed and grieved to learn that national board members of SANE had held an informal meeting at

which a staff member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee was present! It appears that at this meeting the fact that thirty-eight additional people had been subpoenaed was discussed; that it was somehow understood that the names of these persons would not be made public by the Dodd Subcommittee; that SANE would take measures to check on the suspects and, in accordance with its declared policy, take steps to remove from office in the organization any who did not give satisfactory answers to questions about their affiliations. One got the impression that it was also assumed somehow that if SANE carried out such measures, it would be spared further public exposure by Dodd. If this was the case, the assumption has been invalidated. On October 12th, the Senate Internal Subcommittee, according to Associated Press, "renewed its contention that the Communist Party has actively infiltrated the U. S. nuclear test ban movement." It made public the record of "the closed hearing" on May 13th of Henry H. Abrams, "identified as chief organizer of a recent New York rally supporting a nuclear test ban." On the other hand, the majority of the SANE board in the meantime were counselling against public protests about the Dodd Subcommittee behavior in these matters, apparently on the calculation that it was advisable not to arouse the Senator's wrath.

As someone has suggested, this sounds like something out of Kafka. Here are people of unquestioned integrity, well-educated, socially-minded liberals, who are not unaccustomed to being in a minority advocating a not yet universally popular cause. All of them, it is safe to say, abhor McCarthyism and would be regarded as civil libertarians. Some of them have indeed been outstanding civil-liberties fighters for years. How account for the fact that they sit down amicably to talk things over with an agency they would ordinarily oppose with vigor and that they back up a chairman who actually in some sense "cooperates" with this agency?

Personal and Political Matters

Norman Cousins is so much at the center of the situation that comment on his rôle is inevitable and may as well come at the start. He and Senator Dodd are neighbors in Connecticut and have been personal friends over a period of years. At one time during that period Dodd seems to have been influential in protecting the World Federalist organization, in which Cousins has been active, from attack on grounds of Communist infiltration. There is thus perhaps a problem of politically opposing, and thus risking a break with, a personal friend and neighbor. It may be noted that Senator Dodd did not let personal considerations keep him from putting his neighbor, Norman Cousins, on the spot in May and again recently in publishing the proceedings of the "closed session" at which Henry Abrams appeared.

Senator Dodd's view of the importance of the issue and of his duty as an official being what it is, he is the one who acted correctly in this particular.

The problem is complicated in Cousins' mind by the conviction that Senator Dodd, if one tries to meet him as a human being, can be induced to show a certain moderation—not name publicly people he has subpoenaed, for example, and thus give them some consideration and protection. But in the first place, as we have already suggested, the Senator will in any case make only very modest concessions. Cousins is, secondly, aware that even if he influences Dodd's conduct somewhat, he is certainly not touching such figures as Senator Eastland, Jay G. Sourwine, Subcommittee counsel, and Ben Mandel, ace investigator. Nor does he have any assurances that these people will not "leak" information. Thus he passes up the responsibility to cry out against the whole procedure, and to point out that these people should never have been subpoenaed at all under such political inquisition, for the sake of a very precarious and quite possibly illusory protection, extended to a few citizens as a sort of "favor" after they have been robbed of it as an inalienable right. On top of all this is the patent fact that in the meantime the Subcommittee has not the slightest intention of relaxing its inquisitorial activities in relation to other persons and organizations. It may achieve a certain increment in effectiveness by being able to point out how well it is capable of behaving in such a case as SANE. This may even come in handy if and when, in the next Congress, some liberal senators attempt to abolish the Eastland-Dodd Subcommittee by refusing to vote an appropriation for it.

Despite the honorable motivations of those who follow the approach we are discussing, the upshot will be, if it becomes an established pattern, that every peace organization will have to have a certificate of good behavior from the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Nor will it stop there, as the record shows. All liberal, not to mention radical, organizations will have to toe the line. What need is there of the brutalities of outright totalitarian régimes or even of the crudities of McCarthyism, if conformity can be obtained by such gentle pressures?

The Problem for Civil Libertarians

A word about those majority members of the SANE board who have gone along with the developments under discussion, although as civil libertarians with considerable political experience they have had uncomfortable doubts. Norman Thomas may be taken as representative of them. He is in the position of having recently issued one of his admirable fiery denunciations of Senator Dodd and his Subcommittee for their action in the Pauling and other cases, branding it as "modified McCarthyism"; granting freely in private that Dodd's action with regard to SANE belongs in the same category;

and yet at the same time going along with the line SANE has followed.

Some of these board members have argued that SANE is not a civil-liberties organization and that it ought not to bother with attacking the Dodd Subcommittee but instead get on with "the great and urgent business of stopping tests and creating pressure for genuine disarmament negotiation." But refraining from a specific civil-liberties struggle because an organization is set up to do another job is one thing; for the organization itself to violate civil liberties, to fail to take a clear stand when its own liberties and those of its members are subjected to a form of political blackmail by government agencies which should not be tolerated in a democratic society—that is a very different matter. No individual or organization is obligated to take part in trying to right every wrong, but we are obligated not to do wrong ourselves.

The reasons given by some veteran civil libertarians, such as Norman Thomas, for going along with the policy taken by the majority of the SANE national board comes down to this: an organization like SANE is needed and must be kept going if at all possible; SANE cannot keep going at this stage without Norman Cousins (partly because having him step out would be taken in many quarters as evidence that "Dodd is right, SANE is soft on Communists, is in fact 'controlled' by them"); the course which Cousins has taken may be subject to criticism but it has considerable support in the board and certainly cannot be repudiated; therefore, we have to go along, try to concentrate on program, and hope that eventually the unhappy aspects of the situation will clear up. I have great respect and, in the case of some, affection for those who take this position, but I must add that I cannot imagine myself taking it. I wish they had not. I am not convinced by the reasons they advance for their stand.

One more angle of the problem needs to be developed. SANE is essentially an organization of liberals. It was striving in the spring to attract what might be called right-wing liberals, as the presence on the Madison Square Garden platform of Alf Landon and Walter Reuther illustrates. One characteristic of such elements in this period is excessive timidity and extreme sensitiveness about being *tagged* with any label, especially the Communist. This tends to create insensitivity at other points. So the Dodd Subcommittee comes along and threatens SANE with the Communist *label* and immediately a good many people panic; they fear that the organization is about to be wrecked. But the resentment of such people is not directed against Dodd, basically. Is he not in a sense trying to protect them from being labelled? Is it so necessary to denounce the Internal Security Subcommittee—at least just now? Is it so bad to confer with it about certain matters? Or perhaps these questions do not occur to some because the one thing in their minds is that there are "Communists"

around, and the organization must purge itself of them. But to be blind to what "modified McCarthyism" is, because there is a Communist problem, is typical liberal fuzzy thinking. There may be undesirable people in the house but this is no argument or excuse for shooting them on suspicion or burning down the house. Moreover, as long as people *can* be intimidated by the threat of being *tagged* Communist, there will be no peace movement in this country that amounts to anything. Even if it seems to become fairly imposing, it will collapse in a crisis.

We are not insensitive to the fact that SANE is confronted with a complex situation, with all the usual personal and group cross currents, which does not lend it self to an easy solution. There is always danger that in such a situation a polarization, a "taking sides," occurs. What amounts to a power struggle for "control" develops. People defend an action which in another context they would condemn. Others attack it, though under other circumstances, they would not bother to do so. The fundamental ideological issues are obscured.

We share the position that an effective United States peace movement cannot be built by liberals or other people who are emotionally pro-Soviet or pro-Communist and who do not apply the same standard of judgment to Soviet power politics and nuclear military measures that they apply to the policies and military preparations of the American power state. An organization which was avowedly or in effect a "united front" with the Communist Party would not in our judgment be a genuine peace movement. But the other side of this is that a sound and effective peace movement at the present juncture in world affairs has to apply the same standards of judgment to U. S. cold warriors, U. S. nuclear policy and nuclear-war preparation as to their Soviet counterparts. And one very important reason why organizations such as SANE experience great difficulty in dealing with the "Communist" and "fellow-traveler" problem is that their own ideological position is unclear or faulty.

In large measure, the liberals on whom SANE seeks to build still think in nationalistic terms and cling to the "deterrence" concept with all that this implies. They have not arrived at the stage of radical criticism of the U. S. politico-economic régime and realization of the profound changes that will have to take place in it, if nuclear war is in fact to be averted. It is in this kind of context that they work for cessation of testing and "serious" disarmament negotiation. In other words, for them the "enemy" is still over there. Even if they agree intellectually, they are in a sense incapable of "feeling" that the "enemy" is *equally* in the Congressional committees, the Pentagon, the Atomic Energy Commission, and other agencies of the Cold War and nuclear politics over here. They do not fully and clearly accept the

thesis that "war is the enemy" and must be resisted in all its forms and in every land.

The most important problem by far confronting SANE today and the rest of us is, then, what kind of peace movement we should try to build in this country. In a soundly based movement the problem of Communist or fellow-traveler participation would be seen in a true perspective and could therefore be dealt with soundly, since there would be no vacuum which such elements could fill or plausibly pretend to fill. The basis of such a movement will, in our opinion, have to be much closer to the unilateral nuclear-disarmament position of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament than SANE is.

We have no appetite for a campaign against SANE or for spearheading an opposition within SANE. We have, nevertheless, set down our views because silence would be taken to imply consent or at least a complacency which we do not feel. It is quite possible that, in spite of what has happened and the problems that still remain, SANE may go on and even to some extent flourish. There are, fortunately, many people in this country concerned about peace, many also, unfortunately, who are not ready, or think they are not ready, to accept anything but a very moderate program. But such a program will not suffice, at least not for long.

Meanwhile we feel that what has happened in SANE is tragic, partly because we cannot shake off the conviction that it need not have happened. Everything in our political life shows that we are at a turning point and that Americans sense it. I think that last spring Norman Cousins and Norman Thomas and other leaders of SANE should have quietly faced Senator Dodd and said: "If you think it is your duty to 'expose' SANE, do your duty. We shall also do ours. We shall have nothing to do with the type of governmental, political inquisition directed at individual and private citizens' organizations carried on by the agency which you head, nor have any dealing with it which might contribute to a revival of McCarthyism. We shall defend Henry Abrams against your Committee. We shall feature your own advocacy of resumption of tests and the relation of political inquisition and violation of civil liberties to the Cold War at our Garden rally. We shall give evidence which abounds, as you yourself know, about the non-Communist credentials of our leadership, the non-Communist character of our program, the non-Communist control of our activities. Any problem of Communist or 'fellow-traveler' 'infiltration' which may exist or may arise in future to threaten the integrity of our organization, including its local groups, we shall deal with ourselves as responsible and free citizens whom you have no right to threaten or as a government official to direct. And we are going to concentrate on building a powerful movement for peace."

I think the atmosphere last spring was such that such

an attitude might have called forth a tremendous response; might have put new heart and courage into many people, especially young people, fed up with conformism and apathy; and might have led to the development of a more radical movement against nuclear war and war preparation. Such a movement would be invulnerable to attempts at Communist control, if such were made. The existence of such a movement in this country might have altered the course of events in recent months in the election campaign, in the United Nations, in the Congo, and elsewhere in the world.

After writing the article you have just read, A. J. Muste mailed copies of his manuscript to a number of persons directly or indirectly involved in the current controversy over SANE policy, inviting them to comment or respond in the pages of LIBERATION. When the editors learned that Norman Cousins was writing a full-length article in reply, publication of the November issue was held up for a week, in the hope we would be able to print Cousins' rejoinder along with the Muste piece. However, Cousins was unable to complete his article in time for our press deadline. We are looking forward, as we know our readers are, to its appearance in the December issue of LIBERATION.

ON BEING HIT-RUN BY AN EXISTENTIALIST

Sentinel of chaos, why under the sun
must you land on me! (Then run.) Admittedly meek,
sad, son of conventions, innocent

(as my Krutch says, my undertaking one, your fun
"is less philosophy than a stun
of mind, less mind than nerves")
of your capacity for taking curves,
I never looked ahead to that critical shriek
when I saw you, and you landed me!

Sidewalk deliberately discarded. The Sun,
keeping System, observed me
with Know-Thyself objectivity.
Children, like flies, are agile and sly
at entrance and exit. They saw me whacked
(none shared pained cries) from the fact
of community. Your car, like an ax,
crashed down on me, stuck in my tracks:
O why couldn't I, why didn't I

leap?

Well-dressed, well-jobbed, I'd intended to sleep
with a philosophic wife. Our bed:
optimistic ease of getting ahead
and no pathology, no whiplash dread
of Hamlet rubs, the dreams that peep
from hide-tough masks slack in sleep).
Never to love, flesh-fed, have I said:
"Every man is guilty alone, each flesh-cell
in mind-cell, a non-getaway shell."
Is hell other people? I've treated them well.

But struck down, individualized, I weep:
O why couldn't I, why didn't I

leap?

Sam Bradley

Liberation

XUM

COLD WAR IN THE CONGO

ANN MORRISSETT

SO FAR as the American public can tell, the Congo situation is confused and chaotic, those people should never have been given independence, they don't know how to rule themselves, and Lumumba is a ranting Soviet puppet.

That the situation is confused and chaotic (the most overworked words in the press's vocabulary these days), there is little doubt in any quarter. But the remaining assumptions seem less evident as one goes more deeply into them. The suppression of political activity and independent African leadership under the Belgian financial autocracy up to the moment of the decision to grant independence, plus the pressures of outside influences in the form of NATO, pan-Africanist, and Communist interests, and subsequently in the form of confused United Nations forces, have served to aggravate the course of internal events to the point where it is impossible to determine what they might have been, if left to the Congolese themselves or even to the Africans generally.

Not that the Africans are any more saintly or pacific than Europeans. But by all the principles of self determination and non-interference we extol on this side of the Atlantic, certainly those peoples directly on the scene should have the right to settle their own problems. The trouble is, of course, that peoples from outside were already on the scene—primarily as businessmen and missionaries (an effective combination which has led to the African saying, "When the white man came he had the Bible and we had the land; now he has the land and we have the Bible.") Most of these outsiders were Western whites—with whom hated Nineteenth Century colonialism has been identified, whether or not indi-



viduals among them happened to consider themselves colonialists.

It is natural, then, that in attempting to consolidate his leadership, unify the country, and replace administrative and technical assistants who either were unwelcome for political reasons or preferred to leave, Prime Minister Lumumba should have looked first to African sources for support—notably to Ghana and Guinea, the friendliest of the newly independent African nations—and secondly to non-Western sources. Yet he did not scorn Western possibilities either, and in fact left behind him in the United States in July a member of his Parliament who, while not a member of his party, served the interests of the Congo as liaison with private and governmental American agencies in seeking their cooperation and aid.

When this man, Deputy Jean Weregemere, left the United States in late August, he seemed fairly confident that things were straightening themselves out at home, and that he might even return to the United States in some permanent diplomatic capacity for the Congolese government. He appeared to be an honest and capable man, and would undoubtedly do well in such a capacity. But he was reckoning without the Outside Forces. By the time Weregemere had returned to the Congo, not only had the Russians and Czechoslovakians moved in with personnel, supplies, and pamphlets, but the Belgians and Americans had also not been idle. President Kasavubu, an apparently mystical and vacillating leader who was once anathema to the Belgians because of his demands for immediate independence, was becoming the fairhaired boy of the West, since Lumumba seemed to have been adopted by the East and by other African

nations. And Tshombe of the Katanga, under the wing of the Belgians, seemed to be more favorably disposed to talking with Kasavubu than fighting it out with Lumumba's forces, once the Belgian troops were finally pried out.

All these things and the deteriorating economic situation of the country (which those around Kasavubu blamed on Lumumba, and Lumumba blamed on the Belgians) persuaded Kasavubu to make a show of power by deposing Lumumba. The rest of the debacle is widely, if fuzzily, known. Lumumba refused to go. United Nations troops tried to paralyze action on both sides by controlling communications and ports, and as a result got in everyone's hair. The Parliament voted to maintain the *status quo*, retaining both Kasavubu and Lumumba. Kasavubu's followers claimed that the Parliament had no such right, and did not have a quorum anyway. Kasavubu dismissed Parliament until further notice.

Young Colonel Mobutu had meanwhile stepped in, after some sessions with the Americans and others, to declare himself in temporary control, and had tossed out the Communists. He did not toss out what remained of the Westerners, presumably since at this point they had not been the ones rushing in with pills and pamphlets, but on the contrary were mainly engaged in rushing out and pulling out the financial props. Many of Kasavubu's followers seem to have been wealthy (for Africans) tradesmen under the Belgians, and while they preferred to control the Congo's wealth themselves, some perhaps began to reflect that they would rather continue to share it with the Belgians and other foreign financial interests than have it spread around through some kind of socialistic system, on the one hand, or African mismanagement on the other. (This, as many speculate, is just what the Belgian financial interests had counted on.)

One of the men, for example, is Deputy Badibanga of the Kasai, who accompanied Kasavubu's young Minister of Foreign Affairs, Justin Bomboko, to the United Nations General Assembly in September. Just as Lumumba had left Deputy Weregemere as a continuing liaison for several weeks, so Bomboko left Deputy Badibanga hopefully to secure his seat at the United Nations. Before Bomboko left the United States, I had occasion to talk at some length with him and Badibanga.

Badibanga is a director of a commercial firm, and—according to the income figures he quoted me—well-off, even by American standards. He implied that much of the money he was generously spending here was his own, although the financial sources of all the Congolese delegations to date (and indeed of the Congo treasury itself) have been rather mysterious. It would presumably therefore be to Badibanga's interest to retain something of the financial *status quo* which had existed under the

Belgians, unless, of course, he were a dedicated idealist, which he definitely does not appear to be.

Yet Badibanga and Bomboko (who is younger, better educated, and perhaps more idealistic) accused Lumumba of selfish interest and ruination of the country and termed "traitors" such men as Weregemere, who voted with the Parliament (after Badibanga walked out with the opposition) to retain the government as it was. In a letter to me following these events in late September, Weregemere wrote as follows:

'Affairs and events change from day to day here so that it is practically impossible to know the situation. Thus the journalists make up their own stories. At the time I received your cable, I had just been charged with a commission to reconcile Kasavubu and Lumumba . . . At the moment we hoped to arrive at the expected result, another coup occurred, Colonel Mobutu placed armed soldiers before the Parliament to prevent us from meeting.'

Time magazine of September 26th stated: "Mobutu became a frequent visitor to the U. S. embassy and held long talks with officials there. One afternoon last week, Mobutu conferred with officers at Camp Leopold, and got their cheering support. That night he went to Radio Congo and abruptly announced that the army was taking over."

Several weeks later a UPI report, *New York Times*, October 9th, stated: "For days reports have been circulating that the army strong man Colonel Joseph Mobutu was preparing to 'deneutralize' the Parliament and to agree to a meeting of both houses, provided they contained a solid anti-Lumumba majority."

A Reuters report of October 10th stated: "Congolese troops and armored cars guarded the nearby parliament buildings. They turned away pro-Lumumba legislators who attempted to attend a meeting called by Joseph Kasongo, president of the National Assembly."

We attached very little importance to the coup d'état of the military. Our commission came to the point of having an agreement signed between the Prime Minister and the Chief of State. . . . President Kasavubu promised me personally the morning of September 20. This would have been a great occasion for all the congressmen. But in the evening, arriving at the President's home, I found that Ileo's group had already diverted him and instead of accepting the formula that he personally asked us to draw up, he demanded the deposition of Lumumba! This was most astonishing. I was at the end of my patience and the entire commission spoke their minds to President Kasavubu. . . . The Prime Minister has always been disposed to accepting any formula for reconciliation provided it be in the general interest of the Congo.

A Reuters report of September 20th stated: "The plan would have bound Lumumba to accept aid only through the UN. Concessions would have been offered to Congolese leaders like Katanga's Moise Tshombe who want greater autonomy in the provincial govern-

ments. Lumumba accepted this compromise but Kasavubu rejected it."

Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana told the United Nations General Assembly on September 23rd: "Both of them, President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba . . . agree to reconciliation. What, then, prevents them from coming together? What has led to the fake Mobutu episode? I can assure the General Assembly that but for the intrigues of the colonialists a document of reconciliation which has been drafted in the presence of my Ambassador in Leopoldville and approved by both Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Lumumba would have been signed by them."

What should astonish you is that the pretender-government of Ileo is still in hiding. We do not even know where these people are living! Certain ones are staying at the residence of President Kasavubu. Except for a few, no one in the Congo is partisan to the attitude of President Kasavubu and his set, all of whom live in Leopoldville.

This was written before the reported "defections" of various members of Parliament, perhaps partly explained by pressures put on them and the probability that they could not function again until giving indication of having reneged on their support of Lumumba. The enthusiastic reception given Lumumba on the streets of Leopoldville in October on excursions from his residence would seem to substantiate that there is still much popular support for him, even in the heart of Kasavubu's province.

An Associated Press report in the *New York Times* of October 10th states that: "stunned Belgian settlers and United Nations personnel watched in disbelief . . . Observers were stunned by the acclaim Mr. Lumumba received among the African population."

Mobutu himself is already guarded by U.N. soldiers, as he had lied to the Congolese soldiers who discovered afterwards that he had been financed by certain powers for his military coup. Mobutu has already written three times to Prime Minister Lumumba to ask his pardon for all he has done.

A Reuters dispatch of September 26th stated: "Mobutu said he was leaving it to Lumumba and Kasavubu to settle matters between themselves. He said he did not want to meddle in politics and neither would the army. But the army strongman declared a return of the previous government would be impossible. It would be up to the nation and parliament to decide what to do with Lumumba, he said."

Mobutu apparently changed his mind later, and he was reported to be angry at the thwarting by United Nations (Ghanaian) soldiers of his attempts to arrest Lumumba. He stated: "If he [Lumumba] wants a trial of strength I will give it to him. Nobody enters or leaves this house from now on."

My dear friend, the political crisis in the Congo is due largely to external matters. . . . All that we are suffering now is due to the war between the two great powers. But we are the ones who pay the price. . . .

You know that I am not a partisan of Lumumba, but democratically this man ought to play a great role in our institutions. . . . The General Commissioners are

students without any experience! Always these theatrical strokes of the colonialists. . . . My neutrality remains firm. But the country is about to fall into an anarchy favored by sowers of trouble who largely finance any action calculated to impede the central government.

Of all that they say about Mr. Lumumba [Communist and pro-Soviet tendencies], I believe that they make a great mistake. The Congo is very hostile to Communism. This country is immensely rich. Everyone can easily have enough to eat; there is work for everyone if the country had not been plunged into this political crisis. . . . If the action of the U. N. were exclusively directed to technical and financial assistance, without involving itself in politics, the problem would be solved.

In this connection Weregemere names a United Nations official, a German whose dealings have been questioned not only in the Congo but also in relation to South Africa, particularly on the South West African problem. On the other side, Kasavubu's representative in New York, Louis Badibanga, told me that he had talked with this man and found him "very favorable to us." This does not speak well for the impartiality of some of the United Nations command, despite undoubtedly difficulties in trying to find Congo authorities to work with.

Early in October, the *New York Times* reported that: "United Nations spokesmen declined today to name the Congolese authorities with whom the United Nations here were dealing" as it might be "embarrassing for some people" to do so. Later the *Times* reported that the United Nations authorities had put seven million dollars at the disposal of Bomboko and his young high commissioners appointed by Mobutu.

While it is fashionable for anti-Communists to rush to an almost uncritical defense of the U. N. in the effort not to rock the boat at a crucial time, our "free" press might do well at least to give a hearing to such men as Weregemere. Weregemere is far from being a rubber-stamp for Lumumba; in discussions with me when he was in New York, he frequently criticized his character and methods. Nonetheless, he (and apparently a great number of his colleagues) support Lumumba over the Kasavubu forces which now claim to have "legitimately" cast out Lumumba and other ministers of his government.

It is interesting to note the points which Bomboko outlines in a statement issued before he left the United States in late September, justifying the "ouster." "The provisional constitutional régime of the Congo Republic is entirely inspired by that of Belgium," he writes. "In this constitutional régime, normally, a government steps down on the resignation of its ministers following a vote of one of the Chambers expressing the loss of confidence in that assembly.

"On occasion the Belgian King, like the President of the Congo Republic, can revoke a government when this measure is deemed necessary for any grave reason. In this case, the Parliament is not, and cannot be, in-

vited to vote its confidence or lack of confidence in the government." The statement goes on to say that such acts must be co-signed by at least one minister, which Minister Bomboko had obliged by doing, along with Delvaux, Minister Resident in Belgium.

Finally, Bomboko states, there were grave reasons for the President's revoking the ministries of Lumumba and others of the cabinet, against the Parliament's will. For one thing, runs the accusation, Lumumba never "cooperated" with the United Nations after calling it in, and "tolerated" the Congolese soldiers' mistreatment of United Nations military and functionaries, "thus disqualifying our young nation in the eyes of the world." Foreigners were mistreated and Lumumba did nothing, he states. Accredited foreign diplomatic missions sent protests, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Bomboko) constantly had to make excuses for the government. Lumumba made pacts with certain countries outside of the United Nations without even telling the Minister of Foreign Affairs or the President. (Deputy Weregemere wrote that the agreement which both Lumumba and Kasavubu were going to sign clarified these matters by limiting the powers of the Prime Minister.) Lumumba threw political opponents into prison, and even tried to have the Minister of Foreign Affairs arrested. The country was plunged into anarchy, unemployment, hatred of the foreigner, administrative paralysis, and fratricide. Lumumba did not attempt to find peaceable solutions either through African countries or through the U. N. (Both Weregemere's letter and Nkrumah's speech to the General Assembly seem clearly to contradict this.)

But the Ileo government is changing all this, Bomboko states in conclusion. The United Nations should not recognize or treat with the "usurper" Lumumba, but should work with and through the government of Ileo. (This statement was issued just before Bomboko's return to the Congo, where he found that the group of students to which Weregemere refers had been made High Commissioners by Mobutu, with Bomboko as their head and Ileo temporarily remaining in the background. Meanwhile Deputy Badibanga in New York gave me assurances that the seat of the Kasavubu-Ileo-Mobutu side seemed "secure" at the United Nations, and that a number of talks with the Secretary-General had confirmed him in this opinion.)

* * *

Now there is no doubt much to be said for Bomboko's conciliatory and diplomatic-sounding appeal—far more nicely worded, *grâce aux écoles belges*, than the blunt language which had been associated with Lumumba's ultimatums (almost as offensive to the sensibilities of international diplomacy as Castro's beard). But there are also a few more basic items which those of us who

really want to be fair might consider before taking the Bombokos (and particularly the Badibangas) to our bosom.

Furious that Lumumba interfered with their mail "for the national safety," Mobutu and Bomboko, *et al.* have seized and turned over to the press "for the national safety" the communications between Lumumba and *his* correspondents. Furious that some of their men were arrested or threatened with arrest, they were then furious that they could not get at Lumumba and his men to arrest *him*. Furious that Lumumba called in the United Nations, then that he did not approve of all it did (although Bomboko does not either—especially of the presence of the Ghanaian and Guinean troops); furious that Lumumba did not call in Belgian troops (as the new government had apparently agreed with Belgium to do in case of disorders after independence) and yet furious that the Belgian troops came in anyway; furious that Lumumba called in Communist aid to try to unite the country and yet furious that Lumumba has not united the country, Bomboko and his set appear, at least at this moment, to be caught in some of the same contradictions which they think afflict Lumumba.

Fearful of a neo-colonialism in the form of the Soviet bloc, against which they have been amply warned by their Western mentors, they find comfort and aid in the State Department. Hoping to restore the economy at least to former working order, they tend now to look back to those who used to run it and just happen to be standing by. Voice of America representatives, American businessmen and missionaries clustered in Bomboko's hotel suite in New York, eager to shake his hand and yea-say his denunciations of Lumumba; and the United States press treated him almost as favorably as it had unfavorably treated Lumumba.

Too late are Eisenhower's calls for positive neutrality for the African nations and aid through the United Nations, too late his demands that outside forces remain outside. The Cold War has been let in both the front and back doors in the Congo, and none of us is innocent. It may be that Kasavubu's and Mobutu's forces do genuinely want to work only through the U. N. and keep free of all other entanglements. It may be that they truly want to unite the Congo in as peaceful and democratic a manner as possible. If so, they should be willing to return to the legitimately elected Parliament and put it in working order again. And they should be willing to closet themselves with Lumumba and his men for as long as it will take to talk out their differences. The United Nations might do well to lock them all in and sit on the key until they arrive at a reasonable solution.

The View North from Cuba

Douglas Gorsline

MOST ARTICLES recently published which tended to be sympathetic to Cuba have concentrated on conditions there—what the revolution is doing and how it is going. It seems to me that the most important aspect of this struggle for survival on the part of the Cuban people is its present and future impact on the hemisphere as a whole. What can we guess about the direction of future events resulting from the Cuban dynamism? I recently returned to Cuba with these thoughts in mind. I then went to Mexico with the same mission. Among many impressions, the following seem to me fundamental. Sooner or later they are bound to break through the United States' curtain of affluent narcissism in a most unpleasant manner.

The average North American has no idea what goes on in Cuba, nor will he in the future. As the former *haciendado*, our government (which seems to consist of Ike's golf partners), is righteously furious, and both Kennedy and Nixon certainly will continue this great precedent. Our magnificent free press, taking a "strictly objective reportorial view," refuses to be either free or objective. This imposes on both the governmental and press level a conspiracy of obfuscation unmatched in modern history. The expletive "Communist" takes care of the whole nasty mess. If this cuss-word did not exist, you may be sure that our leaders would invent it. Religion has been called the opiate of the masses; this word is the opiate of the North Americans. It is the cheapest drug available with which to repress our gnawing fear of the future.

Nevertheless, behind this Word-curtain, the Revolution plunges ahead on its own daring course. There is no longer any turning back. Cuba has finally and completely assumed the responsibility within the Latin American community for economic divorce from the United States. This is the winter of her desperation, and no one can foretell what may develop. But it is my impression that the United States is bent on helping Cuba, negatively, by her policy of absolute stupidity. How better could we elicit sympathy for Cuba than by these bullying tactics of embargo?

Will Cuba survive? I believe that she will, but at great price. Many will suffer unjustly, there will be invasions and alarms of invasions. Invaders will be shot at the wall. Americans of the hemisphere will watch—and judge for themselves the balance of good and evil. The stupid policy of the United States is best calculated to tip the scales in Cuba's favor. In this sense, it helps Cuba and Castro. But in the day-to-day sense, the hardships it will impose upon Cubans (lack of food, spare parts for machines, etc.) in the next few years will be an

ordeal the Cubans and many other Latin Americans will not soon forgive or forget. Our so-called "good neighbor" policy has become an Uncle Shylock policy. Hell hath no fury like a corporation scorned, and Cubans may starve and die for it. But this will not lessen their determination to endure, quite the contrary. For this reason, by some superhuman means, I feel they will win out, and when they do, it will be the great saga of our times, the first epic awakening among the dormant human wealth of Latin America. Talk about David and Goliath!

Castroism is not yet Khrushchevism, though if that too becomes necessary it may turn into it—that depends on the United States. But it is the Cuban people who live and struggle there, not six million five hundred thousand party hacks. Go see for yourself! Because *LIBERATION* will soon publish a detailed review of the present situation in Cuba by one of the editors, I will concentrate here on the hemispheric impact of the Cuban "problem."

Contrast with Mexico

If you are concerned with the human condition, it is depressing to go to Mexico directly from the Cuban cauldron. The former revolutionary wheels of Cardenas are choked with United States investments. According to the Bank of Mexico, approximately eighty million dollars in profits are exported north each year. José Cencena, the economist, states that the twenty-five largest businesses of Mexico are subsidiaries of United States enterprises. Their income equals that of the State itself. And the ten largest have incomes equal to seventy percent of the Mexican Government's revenues. The Mexican businessman's reaction today to Castro is, "Viva Castro! We hope he survives so we keep his business!" Yes, the sugar surplus in Mexico is being sold to the United States. These happy arrangements with the United States leave the Mexican upper classes sitting in affluence on the great mass of *los Indianos*, who seem to be just about where they were under the Spaniard in 1600. What became of the "Revolution"? It was bought out again. By whom? Us.

The difference between the Cuban and American revolutions is that in its most courageous hour Cuba broke finally and completely with the former United States capital-investment hegemony, while Mexico failed to complete this crucial act. In addition, Castro has determined to educate every last Cuban, and is building schools to do it. Here again, Mexico has failed.

To date, only Cuba has dared such heights. Will other Latin-American nations, as they approach their own assertions, follow the course of Cuba or Mexico in these

vitally important areas? If they do the first the people will be able to reassert their former ownership of the land; if they educate the illiterate the people will at long last be able to evaluate their leaders and their world. The first is a manifest of material honesty on the part of a given revolution; the second proves a loving regard for that nation's human potential. The present ruling classes in the rest of Latin America will never kill the Northern goose, nor do they dare give their masses the weapon of knowledge. These conditions will only obtain in other nations over the bodies of these present rulers.

Colossus of the North

All North Americans who ponder the state of their nation should go to Cuba, not so much to see Cuba, but to see the United States *from* Cuba. Viewed from a Latin American country, the confusion very quickly disappears, and you know precisely what it is that is undermining our nation. If you stay up here you will not understand Castro's outrageous criticisms of us; we see so little basis for it; we feel that we are good. What could Castro possibly mean? Viewed from Cuba, you will see that the tragedy of our country is that the Goodness we feel so sincerely was learned at our Grandfather's knee; *we are only Good in 19th Century terms!*

Our United States, or at least that part of its population which is white, is experiencing great affluence, a "free" society, Bomb-rich with all the material things of this world in profusion. What is wrong with this affluence? We earned it by the sweat of our grandfathers' brows and the genius of our industrial pioneers, didn't we?

The key to our paradox is perhaps this: our affluence is really residual in nature, it is out of context with the Sixties. It exists only because of our immense pre-1940 capital accumulation, and our still predatory monetary colonialism. From Cuba, you sense that this affluence will not survive for very long. How can it, when the recipients of our very profitable capital investments reject them out of hand, as Cuba has done, and the rest of Latin America may soon do. In order to preserve our exceptional (in 1960) affluence, we will have to draw increasingly on our spiritual and material capital. This is already being done, with devastating effect. All our social ills—conformity, a disaffiliated and delinquent youth, an unrealistic educational system, a foreign policy based on the Bomb, our stupid sense of superiority—stem from this predicament. That part of us which withdraws from truth, from consideration of other people's inherent right to develop as they choose, which blinds us to their inconvenient aspirations—it is this part that is 19th Century and delinquent, out of context and befuddled with the shibboleths of affluence.

Our expression, "from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations" is now being documented, from the

first shirtsleeved generation who laid the basis for our monetary wealth after the Civil War, to the rich frock-coated generation of 1900-1929. You and I have the misfortune to be born into the third generation, about to be shirtsleeved again. We are the inheritors of the frontier Trust Funds, the worshippers of the *status quo*, the golfers who flush with rage at the mention of Cuba, the rich men's sons who must preserve, but never create. We all have this psychology, and will until the credit is all used up. We live in this way on the residual surplus of the 19th Century, but few of us see that our world of monetary return on invested capital is already disappearing—that is, beyond the confines of our still comfortable *hacienda*. The tillers of the investments, the faceless peoples to the South and East have already deserted us, or plan to soon. If six and a half million Cubans, led by this crazy Commy Fidel, can get away with it, who's colossal now? Cuba has news for us: we are no longer the "Colossus of the North!" Only yesterday there was Dulles' War in Guatemala. Why not Herter's War in Cuba today? But just that lapse of time is the difference. We cannot (openly) invade Cuba, and we know it. Not because of the Russian rockets, mind you, but because we instinctively feel that the world would turn from us in revulsion.

Poor United States, to be so rich! Poor Don Quixote, who learned too late that he had outlived an era! Unfortunately, there are no 19th Century barons in Cuba any more; they are all in Miami. And there are lots of these barons in Washington, you can hear their armor squeaking all the way up here. It is no longer enough to rattle the armor and refuse to see the enemy within!

After a Visit to Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry

Despite psychiatrists and the doelike social workers, that do their best, a taint of irremediable gloom pervades this rich-sweet summer air. And it is similar to mine, for the children here in the camp I see are little different from myself. I sense the same blight blasts their youth that blasted mine, except in theirs the courage-fear of homemade guns, and cinema dreams of false adventure betray them to a culture dying to preserve the monied status-quo, and in mine, excellence in studies, sports, amours, and fellowship, betrayed me to a culture dying to preserve the monied status-quo. And so what use, what earthly use, what reward is there, in being good?

Richard Mayes

Liberation

American Students in 1960:

The Relevance of Anger

Paul Du Brul

WHATEVER the reader's feelings may be about the numerous student demonstrations which took place earlier this year, one all-important factor must be recognized. There is no student movement in America today—at best, there are students in motion. This distinction is essential for any understanding of what might take place on the campus in the next few months. Except for the overwhelming rejection of segregation, there are few characteristic attitudes on the campus which lend themselves to concerted action. Students share an amorphous anxiety about much which confronts them; without even a consensus on the nature of the problem, however, few have the impulse to seek serious methods for solution.

Of course, the reaction which the demonstrations evoked in the public press could easily have been forecast in a society which has always looked on the campus with a strange amalgam of suspicion and admiration. What disturbs most students who have been active in the demonstrations is the false fear, and hope, engendered by the several conflicting reports which have appeared. The most misleading of these impressions concerns the extent of involvement by students. However desirable it might prove, the freshman of September '61 has not been given a picket placard and the bail bondsman's phone number in lieu of the traditional beanie.

I set down these reflections after returning from a Midwest Seminar on Human Rights, at Antioch College in Ohio. Here three hundred and fifty students from twenty-four schools met to discuss means of implementing integration in all areas of the country. Similar conferences are being held in other major university centers, and plans are being completed for the largest civil-rights demonstration yet attempted by American students—a nationwide appeal, on November 8th, that Southern Negroes be given the right to vote. Through all these plans and discussions, however, runs a deep current of uncertainty. Few verbalize the question which is in the minds of all: Where do we go from here? And even these few do not realize that they are actually asking whether we go on at all.

Unfortunately, no one can give a quick or simple answer. It has become obvious that direct mass action is the only meaningful way to carry out the demands of the Southern students. But the failure of the students to resume sit-ins and the superficial impact of kneel-ins and wade-ins, has left the Northern wing of the movement without any specific target. The real threat in this lack of direction is that the Northern movement will fragment itself, with many of the students drifting back to their accustomed lethargy and a few continuing the struggle in organizations like CORE (Committee on Racial Equality). The primacy of the struggle for legal

equality in the South will become blurred, and the whole movement will suffer a stunning setback. This is why it is important that the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee at its Atlanta conference has once again asked for nationwide support.

But if a real student movement is to emerge, it will have to face far greater problems than an impelling need for direction. The very nature of the campus presents a number of obstacles. Student leadership is frequently transitory, with seniors taking the lead in most activities and then disappearing into the void of the "outside world." Those who flow into the vacuum thus created are tactically untrained and hesitant to make decisions. Add to this the various pressures of the campus cycle, exams, vacations, etc., and you are confronted with problems of strategy that would confound a Clausewitz.

In this context, it should be recognized that the summer hiatus was a critical disruption of the burgeoning list of picket lines, demonstrations and action projects. It came at the high point for "the movement," and found even the most avid pickets facing hostile parental gazes upon returning to Keokuk and New Rochelle. For many it was a time for second thoughts—for some, for double-think. The combination of parental pressure, an inchoate fear of being denied employment or access to graduate or professional schools, and being unable to see any real change in the Southern pattern, led some to renounce participation. Others returned to campus anxious to do more. (Here, of course, I have been writing of the Northern student. Pressures of a vastly different variety have been applied to Southern students, running the gamut of racist intimidation. And these were not without distinct effect. But I have not been in the South recently and can only rely on information received second-hand about the degree of disaffection with continued mass action among the students.)

Perhaps the many problems involved in developing meaningful political activity on the campus today can best be seen in the proceedings of the National Student Congress, which was held in late August. Sponsored by the National Student Association, which in theory represents approximately one million, two hundred thousand students enrolled in N. S. A. member schools, the Congress is an annual event which brings over a thousand student "leaders" together to decide N. S. A. policy for the coming year. Every variety of opinion is represented, although traditionally the more conservative elements have predominated, through numbers and threats to withdraw from the Association if the "radicals" took over. Congress debate included every issue which has invoked student demonstrations during the

past year or threatens to do so in the future. To the casual observer it would seem from the final policy declarations and the overwhelming votes by which they passed that the "radicals" had swept the field: yet the debaters themselves indicated otherwise.

While the Congress refused to urge individual members to participate in sit-ins, because of the "individual, moral" decision such actions require, it officially expressed admiration for those who did, and went further than the Supreme Court by saying that those who are denied a part in making the law should not be bound by it.

A solid denunciation of nuclear testing passed with hardly a whimper, although a similar proposal had almost led to the dissolution of the Association when proposed, and defeated, two years ago.

Motions denouncing student loyalty oaths, compulsory R. O. T. C., and administrative stifling of student expression on off-campus issues were passed.

The major issue which divided the Congress was whether or not the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee should be called for. A study proposal was passed after the Congress by the newly-elected national executive committee. Various H. U. A. C. practices were denounced and the door was left open for an abolition call later in the year.

While the conservatives at one point had mustered sixty schools in a threat to drop out, to date only three Southern campuses have done so. But two larger Northern schools have joined since to redress the balance, and the addition of these schools actually raises both total revenue and the number of students represented.

All of the Congress' decisions point to the dissipation of the political reticence which has characterized the campus for the past decade. But, in all candor, it must be admitted that these students tend to be the most active and politically aware members of the general campus community. And it must be recognized that most delegates expressed ignorance or displayed diffidence on many of the questions raised, especially in the field of civil liberties. Frequent doubts were expressed as to the validity of student involvement in the anti-Bomb and anti-H. U. A. C. campaigns. These expressions of doubt usually reflected an attitude of hopelessness or, "the government knows what's best."

"What good does getting mad do?" I was asked by one coed. "We can't change anything worth changing, not even dorm hours." And while dorm hours may not be one of the earth-shaking issues of our times, her remarks called attention to one of the major stumbling blocks to effective political action by students. The overweening paternalism of the American campus has emasculated most attempts at effective self-government among students and left them bereft of even minimal democratic associations.

Because of its special historical situation, the Amer-

ican educational system doesn't send sensitive, already-intellectualized students to college as European schools do. Instead, it throws a largely ignorant, social and mental adolescent into a totally disconcerting living experience. The student spends the first two years of college assimilating what he was supposed to have learned in high school. Original work is discouraged, and the student learns that regurgitation is the magic key to "getting by." For the first time in many years an attempt at a solution is being demanded by campus newspapers and student governments, and it can be definitely stated that more furor will be raised on specifically educational issues in the near future. One of the really tangible results of student re-awakening in the last few years (and last year especially) has been the channeling of discontent with the quality of education in a sterilized university.

For the witch hunt did much more than ruin a few careers on the American campus. Many of the historical roots which allowed McCarthyism the free rein it received have been at work in the University as well. This is the major reason why McCarthyism was institutionalized so quickly and hangs on with such tenacity, especially in large city and state colleges. Disillusionment with the Soviet Union (and the mental wringer of the American Communist Party), a feeling of total incapacity in the face of the Bomb, war fatigue, the "solution" of the crises of capitalism by the Permanent War Economy—all of these tended to make the old answers, as well as the old questions, "utopian" in the eyes of social scientists. Radicalism had no place in this affluent new world, where babies came in cellophane. Jules Feiffer, one of the few radicals of the last generation, epitomizes these attitudes in a strip portraying a placid endomorph in tweeds who concludes the tale of his youthful folly by sighing: "Now, when I feel like getting mad, I go see my analyst."

But the professional élite was deeply jolted by last year's campus upsurge, and greeted the students' moral challenge with a combination of ridicule and envy. When the students turned to the professors for advice in private, most responded with encouragement, and all but a few have actively taken part in student-initiated inquiry programs (such as the Challenge program at Yale), which are proliferating this year. For the first time in a long time, the old questions—why war? why poverty? why hate?—are being asked on the American campus. And even more surprising, students and teachers are looking for answers together. Simply recognizing that the questions exist constitutes an important change for the American campus. For questions signify a dichotomy between what is and what could be, and dissatisfaction with this difference is the very engine of human progress. The frustration inherent in closing the gap between the real and the unreal must give rise to anger, "the purifier and teacher of youth."

"The Strength of Sin Is the Law"

Alexander Burdett

SOME MONTHS AGO, a Puerto Rican named Vargas was electrocuted in New York State [see editorial, March, 1960]. It took five powerful men to drag him to his death. Vargas, who hardly knew the language of his executioners, could only repeat wretchedly, "Please don't! Please don't!" But capital punishment turns a human being into a piece of meat—like cattle for slaughter. While the murderer's crime is monstrous, the crime of the law is more monstrous still: for the individual kills in insanity, lust or greed, while the State kills with the sanction of the law.

Flakes and Green, electrocuted at Sing Sing in May, were two Negroes from the South, the poorest of the underprivileged. They had moved to a Negro ghetto in the North where they were politically "free," but economically chained. It was chance that loaded their bodies with beer and their minds with the half-crazed desire to make easy money. They robbed and killed a poor old clothing dealer, in what the law calls "cold blood." Yet what could be colder than the blood of the law, which keeps a man confined for month or years, making certain that he is fed like a Christmas goose, has expert medical care and no implements with which to put an end to himself, so that he can be killed while in perfect health? Usually by the time of the execution, the public which is to be avenged does not even remember the crime and often does not even know that the man is to be killed. Still the murderous ritual continues.

The newspaper peddlers of death want to give the public a scapegoat and excite their morbid interests, particularly when there is no international crisis. As the Chessman case demonstrated, the newspapers are scarcely interested in the facts. For example, they give the impression that he was a murderer, although he was actually convicted of kidnapping. Newspaper publishers are interested in selling papers, and the State is interested in conviction. All this is done in the sacred name of justice. But is justice, as Chessman asked, "a bloody, sadistic, schizophrenic bitch?"

The imaginative person can feel himself in the murderer's position. As the great French film *We Are All Murderers* illustrates, conditions of life make the murderer. The state honors the soldier-hero who has killed for his country, but once the hero has returned to the civilian fold, he is expected to curb his blood lust. Society is not interested in learning why the soldier "goes berserk," and kills in civilian life. It is enough to consider him a *monster*. The father of nine children, a simple man with a low level of intelligence, has a night job and tries to sleep during the day. He lives with his fam-

ily in a single room. The cries of his youngest baby wrench him from sleep, and in a delirium he murders the infant. "A monster" the newspapers say, ignoring all the crucial problems, while the law says: "Put him to death!"

It has never been proved that the gas chamber, the electric chair, the hangman's noose or the guillotine prevent murder. Indeed, these devices are often fascinating to the psychopathic mind. Perhaps one has to be a psychopath to be an executioner. Chessman described the blood lust and greed of many executioners. "In San Quentin, one impious old drunkard, when two men sentenced to be executed won a stay, shortly before he was to put them to death, began to rant and blaspheme like one possessed, denouncing the fact that he had been cheated out of his fee and his day off."

Capital punishment is related to poverty. Of the forty-nine persons executed in the United States last year thirty-three were Negroes, and most of the executions were in the South. Death rows have been filled with men rejecting society, because society has always rejected them. A man or woman who can afford to hire eminent psychiatrists and lawyers can usually beat a murder rap. A society matron, who tossed her two children to death from a penthouse roof, is free today after a short period in a plush mental institution. The superb lawyer, Clarence Darrow, pleaded for the lives of rich and poor alike. A firm opponent of capital punishment, he believed in rehabilitation rather than revenge. Through his skill, he managed to get Leopold and Loeb off with life sentences, when newspapers and authorities were crying for their blood. His faith was justified, for Leopold, at the age of fifty, after important humanitarian work in jail, was freed, and allowed to perform further good works in the outside world. (Loeb did not have this chance, since he was killed by a fellow prisoner.) Darrow always held the mirror of society up to its own image, quickening the conscience of judges, juries and the public. But Darrow was one lawyer in thousands, and many men have gone to their death for lack of this kind of lawyer.

The political ambition of a public official can bring about an execution. One investigating officer, for the district attorney's office, was assigned to a murder case. Witnesses were necessary to bring about a conviction. After several weeks of questioning people connected with the crime, the investigator came to the conclusion that the man, a Negro, was being framed. When he brought this evidence to his superiors, he was told: "Our office wants a conviction." "You don't understand," the

investigator replied. "I have evidence this man is innocent." "You didn't understand me," was the superior's retort. "This is an election year and the D. A. needs convictions."

Murder juries are composed of human beings, and although no member of a jury is supposed to be influenced by outside sources during the trial, every man who reads the newspapers beforehand will get a biased opinion of the case. Anyone who does not believe in capital punishment is immediately excluded from the jury in a murder trial. Furthermore, many people, who do not wish to be involved in the death of another man, refuse to serve on such juries, with the result that the least humane people tend to fill the jury box. In order to shorten the time he must serve on a jury, a man may reverse his verdict of "not guilty" because of time pressures. Every possible trick is used upon a jury by the prosecutor, who is experienced in getting convictions.

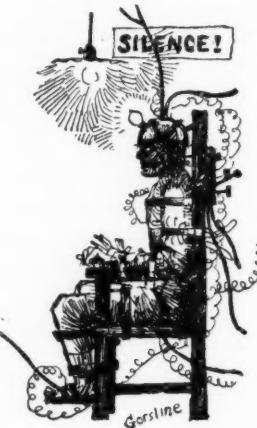
The Caryl Chessman case rightly became an international scandal. When the Russians executed Imre Nagy, leader of Hungary, America lent her voice to the world protest. Consider how American prestige was affected when the State Department urged California to stay Chessman's execution when President Eisenhower was about to go to South America, because it feared hostile demonstrations in countries where there is strong opposition to capital punishment. Later, when Eisenhower was not making a "goodwill" trip anywhere, Chessman was executed.

How can death, the most absolute punishment inflicted upon a man, be determined by so imperfect and arbitrary a system? Belgium was so horrified by the fact that the law had killed a man who was later proved innocent, that it abandoned the guillotine. An English report on capital punishment, written by Arthur Koestler, proved statistically that capital punishment does not diminish the murder rate. Sweden has evolved to the point where the maximum penalty for murder is ten years in prison. During and after his sentence the murderer is required to contribute to the support of his victim's family. When he leaves prison, the state guarantees him a job, suggesting that he change his name and live in a region where no one knows of his crime. In prison he is, therefore, useful to himself and his victim's family; and no taxpayers need grumble that they are supporting a criminal. In our American prisons, some agreement must be reached with labor unions to enable a prisoner to work at some useful occupation and so truly "pay his debt to society."

We must not be sentimental about the murderer or psychopathic personality. We must imagine what we would feel if a "monster" murdered the person we love most. Not long ago, a father in Philadelphia forgave the boy who murdered his young daughter, for he knew that the youth's execution would not bring back his daughter's life. So acutely did he experience the loss

of his daughter that he could not wish the murderer's parents to lose their son. Having an impersonal agent gas the boy in cold blood, strangle him or convulse him with deadly electric shocks, months after the crime, only continues the horrors of the initial murder. To appeal to the altruistic nature of man is unnecessary, for capital punishment does not even serve practical self-interest.

The movement for the abolition of capital punishment is growing around the world. In 1780 there were 350 offenses punishable by death in Britain, now only one: murder. Thirty-five foreign nations, including most of Western Europe, have abolished the death penalty. Nine



of the American states have outlawed it. This movement is based upon two facts:

1. The murder rate has not increased where capital punishment has been abolished. Sometimes it remains the same, more often it diminishes.
2. There is no proof that capital punishment prevents crime.

Judeo-Christian ethics are surely opposed to execution. In the Old Testament, we find Jehovah placing a mark on the brow of Cain, the murderer, that no man should murder him. In the New Testament, we find Christ Himself executed upon the cross. The two men who had the greatest influence upon Western civilization—Socrates and Christ—died by capital punishment.

It is fitting to close with words of executed men:

And no more than society could solve its criminal problems by killing me—or a thousand or a hundred thousand like me—could humanity solve its problems by destroying itself. (Caryl Whittier Chessman)

I feel better that you will not come to the death house so that you could not see the horrible picture of three living in agony waiting to be electrocuted Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by an accident. (Bartolomeo Vanzetti)

LETTERS . . .

Dear Editors:

Paris
The French government's current crackdown on intellectuals who are opposed to the Algerian War is a significant response to two developments. Public opinion is swiftly and surely turning against the war, because of the inhuman methods by which it is being carried out and because of the economic sacrifices it is imposing upon the French people. But the Right-wing extremists in high Army circles, together with the *colons* in Algeria, are increasing their pressure upon the government because they fear that a peaceful settlement will be reached with the Algerian Nationalists.

The military trial of the "Jeanson network" of Frenchmen and Algerians working together to help the Algerian F. L. N. (National Liberation Front), ended with the imposition of the maximum sentence of ten years on several defendants, despite the fact that many of them had been acting from purely humanitarian motives. The famous "Manifesto of 121" (which has since been signed by more than sixty additional prominent persons) in defense of the right of youth to refuse to serve in the Algerian War would have attracted little attention if the government had not used it as an excuse to intensify the witch hunt against dissident intellectuals. If the government's decision to ban the signers of the Manifesto from radio and TV is carried out literally, the results will be catastrophic for the mass-entertainment industry in France. Already a number of programs have had to be cancelled because signers were involved in them as actors, writers or directors. Such top writers as Jean-Paul Sartre, Francoise Sagan, Marguerite Duras, Simone de Beauvoir and Goncourt Prize-winner Andre Schwartz-Bart will be eliminated from all discussions on radio or TV.

If the witch hunt is allowed to run its course, the consequences will be equally far-reaching in the state-subsidized theater and the cinema. In the theater, not only will French productions be called off, but even the adaptations of plays by Gogol, Gorky, Brecht and others will be banned, because the translators (Adamov and Genevieve Serreau) signed the Manifesto. Nine movies now being produced may have to be abandoned.

The signers of the Manifesto—with its unusually bold advocacy of the "right of insubordination"—represent an extreme minority position in France, despite their moral purity and courage. But thousands of other Frenchmen who do not share their views are ready to defend them. A large number of organizations have already come to their defense. The Actors Union, which staged a two-day strike on behalf of the "121", made it clear that they were defending the rights of those individuals to work at their profession, regardless of their opinions. A number of dramatic critics—most of them quite conservative—expressed a similar viewpoint in a petition addressed to the government.

At the root of the matter is the Algerian War itself. It is becoming clear to large numbers of Frenchmen that their own liberties are now under attack because of the repressive measures connected with the war. Quite a few months ago, the major union federations, in separate statements, called for a negotiated peace with the Algerian Nationalists. The intellectuals are generally anti-colonialist and anti-war, but extremely divided among themselves concerning the exact nature of the conflict and the most effective means of achieving peace. The great problem is to organize one big movement that will push the government in the direction of honest negotiations with the F. L. N. and end the colonial war.

Sam Corbin

November 1960

Dear Editors:

Mt. Vernon, Iowa

The Presidential election madness is almost at its peak as I write this. Neither Kennedy nor Nixon seem to realize that military "defense" became wholly obsolete fifteen years ago, so, on October 24th, I arrived at the Moline, Illinois, airport ahead of Kennedy with a sign, "Don't vote! Can you trust Kennedy or Nixon with The Bomb?" I didn't know Kennedy's arrival had been changed to a later time, so only a small crowd was present and about half of them were members of the "Kennedy Caravan." Some of the Caravan members were quite irked by my sign, but it was the "Don't vote" part of my sign rather than my question about the qualifications of their hero that stirred them up. What I was doing was so un-American the Rock Island County Sheriff had his men confiscate my sign, rough me up and throw me in the county jail. A week later, as I write this, my left hand is still numb from being carried by handcuffs. The sore on my back where the skin rubbed off as I was dragged on the concrete is still giving me trouble. Someone thought better of it after I had been in jail about an hour, and I was released.

Four days later, I was across the river at the Davenport, Iowa, airport waiting for Nixon to arrive. Although I did not know he had also been delayed, there was a good sized crowd present when I brought out my sign fifteen minutes before I thought Nixon was to arrive: "Why vote? Can you trust Nixon or Kennedy with The Bomb?" The ardent Nixon supporters had gotten vantage points along the fence and were not going to give them up to come to me and call me a Communist. There were a few remarks, which mentioned Castro as well as Communists, but things went well and I was having a friendly discussion with some college students about half an hour after I brought out the sign when a Highway Patrolman appeared at one elbow and a man, probably a Deputy Sheriff, from the Scott County Sheriff's office in Davenport, at the other. I won't go into details of what followed, but I was bodily dragged about fifty feet, the college students gave the Deputy quite an argument, and the Deputy Sheriff walked off with my sign. At one point the Deputy Sheriff said there would be no objection if I had a Kennedy sign in that Nixon crowd. You have to pick out one of them as the Good Guy, or the law will be on you. You can have the freedom of speech to say nasty things about one Bad Guy, but if you say there are two Bad Guys, the law will be on you.

Walter Gormly

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Dear Editors:

McLean, Va.

Since the Senate Internal Security (Dodd) Subcommittee launched its attack on SANE, strange things have been happening to our mail. Not just second-class, but also first-class mail. How to get the investigators investigated? That is the question. The American people should be alerted to what is going on in this "land of the free" we brag about so much.

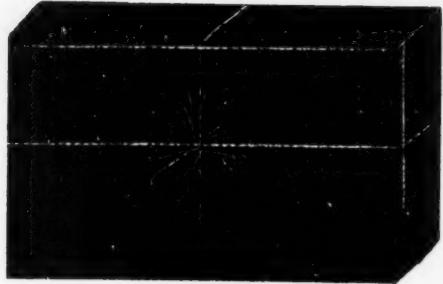
Having attended the "aPauling" spectacle of Dr. Linus Pauling's second hearing before the Subcommittee, I am sorrowful, ashamed, sickened, and not a little apprehensive about the future of democracy—and indeed of mankind. For now it appears that anyone who works for a peace organization or who believes that just *perhaps* we might learn to live on the same planet with the Communists, if we could change our own attitudes and actions, which might in turn help them to change theirs—these hardy souls (if any remain after the inquisition) will be suspect and in due time will end up behind the barbed wire fences which, I suspect, are ready and waiting for us.

Ethelward Townsend

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